

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR,

SUBJECT: TEXT OF SEC. KISSINGER'S SPEECH PANAMA, FEB. 7,
1974

FOLLOWING TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH AFTER SIGNING
AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES FOR PANAMA CANAL TREATY NEGOTIA-
TIONS:

BEGIN TEXT: WE MEET HERE TODAY TO EMBARK UPON A NEW ADVEN-
TURE TOGETHER. OUR PURPOSE IS TO BEGIN REPLACING AN OLD
TREATY AND TO MOVE TOWARD A NEW RELATIONSHIP. WHAT WE SIGN
TODAY HOPEFULLY MARKS AS WELL THE ADVENT OF A NEW ERA IN
THE HISTORY OF OUR HEMISPHERE, AND THUS MAKES A MAJOR CON-
TRIBUTION TO THE STRUCTURE OF WORLD PEACE.

MEETING AS WE DO ON THIS ISTHMUS WHICH LINKS NORTH WITH
SOUTH AND ATLANTIC WITH PACIFIC, WE CANNOT BUT BE
CONSCIOUS OF HISTORY -- A HISTORY WHICH HAS PROFOUNDLY
CHANGED THE COURSE OF HUMAN AFFAIRS. FOUR CENTURIES AGO
THE CONQUISTADORS LANDED HERE BRINGING FAITH AND TAKING
BOOTY. THEY WERE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TRADITIONAL STYLE
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AND USE OF POWER. SEVENTY YEARS AGO, WHEN THE PANAMA CANAL

WAS BEGUN, STRENGTH AND INFLUENCE REMAINED THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD ORDER.

TODAY WE LIVE IN A PROFOUNDLY TRANSFORMED ENVIRONMENT. AMONG THE MANY REVOLUTIONS OF OUR TIME NONE IS MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN THE CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF WORLD ORDER.

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THE QUEST FOR JUSTICE HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL. A STABLE WORLD ORDER CANNOT BE IMPOSED BY POWER; IT MUST DERIVE FROM CONSENSUS. MANKIND CAN ACHIEVE COMMUNITY ONLY ON THE BASIS OF SHARED ASPIRATIONS.

THIS IS WHY THE MEETING TODAY BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOST POWERFUL NATION OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND ONE OF THE SMALLEST HOLDS GREAT SIGNIFICANCE. IN THE PAST OUR NEGOTIATION WOULD HAVE BEEN DETERMINED BY RELATIVE STRENGTH. TODAY WE HAVE COME TOGETHER IN AN ACT OF CONCILIATION. WE RECOGNIZE THAT NO AGREEMENT CAN ENDURE UNLESS THE PARTIES TO IT HAVE A STAKE IN MAINTAINING IT. PARTICIPATION IN PARTNERSHIP IS FAR PREFERABLE TO RELUCTANT ACQUIESCENCE.

WHAT WE DO HERE TODAY CONTAINS A MESSAGE, TOO, FOR OUR COLLEAGUES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WHO, IN THEIR RECENT MEETING IN BOGOTA, GAVE IMPETUS TO THIS NEGOTIATION. THE METHOD OF SOLUTION AND THE SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES AS EMBODIED IN THIS AGREEMENT ARE AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT WE MEAN BY THE SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE -- IT CAN BE THE FIRST STEP TOWARD A NEW ERA WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL BE GIVEN FRESH HOPE AND PURPOSE WHEN WE MEET AGAIN WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ALL THE HEMISPHERE IN TWO WEEKS' TIME.

THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES IS ROOTED IN EXTRAORDINARY HUMAN ACCOMPLISHMENT -- THE PANAMA CANAL, A MONUMENT TO MAN'S ENERGY AND CREATIVE GENIUS. BUT AS IS SO OFTEN THE CASE, MAN'S TECHNOLOGICAL TRIUMPH OUTSTRIPPED HIS POLITICAL IMAGINATION.

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--FOR SIXTY YEARS THE SAFE, EFFICIENT AND EQUITABLE OPERATION OF THE CANAL HAS GIVEN TO PANAMA, TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO ALL NATIONS, BENEFITS BEYOND CALCULATION;

--YET, THE CANAL STILL OPERATES UNDER THE TERMS OF A TREATY SIGNED IN 1903, WHEN THE REALITIES OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WERE STILL SHAPED BY TRADITIONAL PRECEPTS OF POWER.

--THE TENSIONS GENERATED BY THESE CONTRADICTIONS -- THE
ENDLESS DEBATES OVER THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF THE CONVEN-
TION OF 1903 -- HAVE JEOPARDIZED THE ABILITY OF OUR TWO
COUNTRIES NOT ONLY TO WORK TOGETHER TO MEET FUTURE
DEMANDS UPON THE CANAL BUT ALSO TO DEVELOP A CONSTRUCTIVE
RELATIONSHIP AS FRIENDS.

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WE MUST ASSESS THE DOCUMENT WE HAVE JUST SIGNED AGAINST
THIS BACKGROUND OF REWARD AND FRUSTRATION. ABOVE ALL WE
MUST JUDGE IT IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT IT MEANS FOR THE
PEOPLES OF THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA AND WHAT IT CAN
MEAN FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THE EIGHT PRINCIPLES IN THIS AGREEMENT CONSTITUTE, AS
GENERAL TORRIJOS HAS SAID, A "PHILOSOPHY OF UNDERSTAND
ING." SACRIFICING NEITHER INTEREST NOR SELF-RESPECT,
PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE MADE A CHOICE FOR PART-
NERSHIP. MEETING IN DIGNITY AND NEGOTIATING WITH FAIR-
NESS, WE HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT COOPERATION IS IMPOSED
UPON US BY OUR MUTUAL NEED AND BY OUR MUTUAL RECOGNITION
OF THE NECESSITY FOR A COOPERATIVE WORLD ORDER. FOREIGN
MINISTER TACK AND AMBASSADOR BUNKER HAVE SHOWN THAT
PANAMA'S SOVEREIGNTY AND THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED
STATES IN THE PANAMA CANAL CAN BE MADE COMPATIBLE. THEY
HAVE ENGAGED IN AN ACT OF STATESMANSHIP IMPELLED BY THE
CONVICTION THAT WE ARE PART OF A LARGER COMMUNITY IN THE
AMERICAS AND IN THE WORLD.

IN THAT SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP THE UNITED STATES AND
PANAMA HAVE MET AS EQUALS AND HAVE DETERMINED THAT A JUST
SOLUTION MUST RECOGNIZE:

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-- FIRST, THAT PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE A MUTUAL
STAKE IN THE ISTHMUS: PANAMA IN ITS GREATEST NATURAL
RESOURCE -- ITS STRATEGIC LOCATION -- AND THE UNITED
STATES IN THE USE AND DEFENSE OF THE CANAL;

-- SECOND, THAT THE ARRANGEMENT WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN SUIT-
ABLE SEVENTY YEARS AGO TO BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND
PANAMA MUST BE ADJUSTED TO MEET THE REALITIES OF THE CON-
TEMPORARY WORLD.

-- THIRD, THAT A NEW TREATY IS REQUIRED WHICH WILL STREN-
GTHEN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US WHILE PROTECTING WHAT IS
ESSENTIAL TO EACH. A NEW AGREEMENT MUST RESTORE PANAMA'S
TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY WHILE PRESERVING THE INTERESTS OF
THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN WHAT IS FOR US
AN INDISPENSABLE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY.

OUR AGREEMENT IS THE CULMINATION OF A LONG AND DIFFICULT
NEGOTIATION.

WHILE WE HAVE TAKEN A GREAT STRIDE FORWARD, WE MUST STILL
TRAVEL A DIFFICULT DISTANCE TO OUR GOAL. THERE IS OPPOSI-
TION IN BOTH OUR COUNTRIES TO A REASONABLE RESOLUTION OF
OUR DIFFERENCES. OLD SLOGANS ARE OFTEN MORE COMFORTING

THAN CHANGES THAT REFLECT NEW REALITIES. IT IS THE ESSEN-
CE OF REVOLUTIONS THAT TO THEIR CONTEMPORARIES THEY APPEAR
AS IRRITATING INTERRUPTIONS IN THE COURSE OF A COMFORTABLE
NORMALCY. BUT IT IS EQUALLY TRUE THAT THOSE WHO FAIL TO
UNDERSTAND NEW CURRENTS ARE INEVITABLY ENGULFED BY THEM.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO SHAPE OUR OWN DESTINY. OUR NEGOTIA-
TORS WILL REQUIRE WISDOM, PURPOSEFULNESS, TENACITY.
THEY WILL MEET OBSTACLES AND DISAGREEMENTS. YET, THEY
WILL SUCCEED - FOR OUR RELATIONS AND OUR COMMITMENTS TO A
NEW COMMUNITY IN THIS HEMISPHERE DEMAND IT.

IN THE PRESIDENT'S NAME, I HEREBY COMMIT THE UNITED STATES
TO COMPLETE THIS NEGOTIATION SUCCESSFULLY AND AS QUICKLY
AS POSSIBLE.

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THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE COMMUNITY

WE ARE HERE TODAY NOT JUST AS TWO SOVEREIGN NATIONS BU
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